

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 253451

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ORIGIN IO-01

INFO OCT-01 EUR-01 EA-01 ISO-00 /004 R

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DRAFTED BY: IO/UNESCO:RCHEATER:JU

APPROVED BY: IO:RCREIS

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P 241600Z OCT 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 253451

FOLLOWING REPEAT PARIS 26338 ACTION SECSTATE INFO USUN
TEL AVIV 09 OCT

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 26338

NESCO

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, OCON, UNESCO, US, IS, XA, XF

SUBJECT: UNESCO-US: SIGNIFICANCE OF EXECUTIVE BOARD

PASSAGE OF REGIONAL ACTIVITY GROUP RESOLU-
TION

REF: PARIS 26122

SUMMARY: PERMDEL BELIEVES PASSAGE OF SUBJECT RESOLU-
TION -- WHICH ORIGINALLY A US INITIATIVE AND FOR WHICH
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PAGE 02 STATE 253451

PERMDEL LOBBIED HARD -- WAS A MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH BE-
CAUSE: (A) ARAB AND ISRAELI OPPOSITION POINTS UP
RESOLUTION'S SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE AS ACT OF PENITENCE
TOWARDS US BY A UN AGENCY, WHICH IN ITSELF HAS FEW

PRECEDENTS, DESPITE TEXTUAL INNOCUOUSNESS; (B) IT DEMONSTRATED A SHARP BREAK OF BLACK AFRICANS WITH ARABS; THAT (C) WAS, DUE TO PERSONAL EFFORTS OF UNESCO'S AFRICAN DIRECTOR GENERAL IN AN ATTEMPT TO SAVE HIS ORGANIZATION. ISRAELIS, IN PARTICULAR, WOULD BE WELL ADVISED TO EXPLOIT THESE FISSURES BY WORKING WITH, RATHER THAN CONTINUING TO TAKE HARDLINE AGAINST, A UN AGENCY WHOSE DIRECTOR GENERAL IS AN INFLUENTIAL LINK TO THE AFRICAN BLOC IN THE UN. WEO'S AND ESPECIALLY AFRICANS, HAVING PUSHED THROUGH THIS GESTURE TO PLACATE US, WILL NOW EXPECT RESPONSIVE GESTURE FROM US AND/OR GOI. END SUMMARY.

1. HEATED LOBBYING, THROUGHOUT WHICH PERMDEL PLAYED INTENSIVE BEHIND-THE-SCENES ORCHESTRATING ROLE, AND FINAL ACTION FOR OCTOBER 8 EVENING COTE OF 23-3-3 APPROVING REGIONAL GROUP RESOLUTION (DOCUMENT 98 EX/DR.9) WAS CHARACTERIZED BY ELEVENTH HOUR ALGERIAN-MANEUVURED ARAB MOVE TO TRY AND POSTPONE VOTE UNTIL 99TH BOARD SESSION. ARABS CAUCUSED AT LEAST TWICE OCTOBER 7 AND 8 AT ALGERIAN INITIATIVE AND REPORTEDLY BEGAN TO HAVE HOME CAPITALS WEIGH IN WITH BLACK AFRICAN CAPITALS OF LATTER'S BOARD MEMBERS. INDEED, PLO OFFICIAL (SOUSS), WHO PRESENT IN CORRIDORS, WHILE REPORTEDLY AMENABLE AT FIRST TO ARAB ACQUIESCENCE TO THE RESOLUTION, DID AN ABOUT-FACE AND LOBBIED AGAINST IT ON REPORTED PERSONAL INSTRUCTIONS OF YASIR ARAFAT TO OPPOSE ANY MEASURE THAT WOULD MODIFY UNESCO 18TH GENERAL CONFERENCE DECISIONS RE ISRAEL.

2. AFRICAN BOARD MEMBERS HELD FIRM DUE LARGELY TO THE UNCEASING EFFORTS OF DIRECTOR GENERAL M'BOW THROUGH HIS PERSONAL FRIEND, DAHOMEYAN BOARD MEMBER BOISSIER-PALUN WHO PROVIDED INDISPENSABLE SUPPORT TO BELGIAN (VAN USSEL) INITIATIVE IN PRESSING AHEAD WITH RESOLUTION. SOLE AFRICAN EXCEPTION FROM OUTSET WAS UGANDA TO AFRICAN BLOC OF BOARD MEMBERS
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 253451

THAT INCLUDED DAHOMEY, GHANA, GABON, KENYA, TOGO, UPPER VOLTA AND ZAIRE.

3. RESOLUTION WAS TIMED FOR VOTING BY BOARD CHAIRMAN WYNTER (JAMAICA) AS VERY LAST ITEM OF BUSINESS AT 6:30 P.M. AND WAS INTRODUCED BY BELGIAN BOARD MEMBER (VAN USSEL) AS ONLY A "PROCEDURAL" MEASURE DESIGNED TO SPEED UP "FORMALITIES" OF REGIONAL GROUP MEMBERSHIP; ASSERTEDLY OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO NEW AFRICAN (EX-PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES) MEMBERS. VAN USSEL, WITH STRAIGHT FACE, FURTHER DESCRIBED RESOLUTION AS HAVING "NO POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS."

4. SAUDI ARABIAN (AL KHOWAITER) COUNTERED IN INTERVENTION MOVING FOR POSTPONEMENT TO 99TH EXBD ON BASIS OF NEED FOR STUDY AND CONSULTATION RE MEASURE WHICH RAISED "IMPORTANT LEGAL MATTERS." WITH SOVIET SECONDING SAUDP IN SUPPORT, AND AFTER BELGIAN REFUSAL ON BEHALF CO-SPONSORS TO WITHDRAW RESOLUTION, MOVE FOR POSTPONEMENT WAS DEFEATED (AS REPORTED REFTEL) BY SHOW-OF-HANDS VOTE OF 20 AGAINST - 9 IN FAVOR - AND 4 ABSTENTIONS (LATTER INCLUDING URUGUAY WHICH A CO-SPONSOR OF RESOLUTION, AS WELL AS SPAIN, AUSTRIA AND ITALY). IN CORRIDORS PRIOR TO VOTE ARABS, SENSING DEFEAT, ARGUED TO US AND WEO'S THAT IF POSTPONEMENT GRANTED THEY WOULD ASSURE PASSAGE OF "REVISED" REGIONAL GROUP RESOLUTION BY "CONSENSUS" AT NEXT BOARD.

5. AFTER DEFEAT OF POSTPONEMENT MOVE, SAUDI MADE STATEMENT FOR RECORD THAT ARABS WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN VOTE ON TEXT. SOVIET (KOUTAKOV) EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH ARABS POSITION ON "LEGAL" IMPORTANCE OF RESOLUTION THAT "IMPLIES" A REVISION OF 18TH GC DECISION (18 C 46.1) AND THEREFORE A "DANGEROUS PRECEDENT." FRANCE (DE BROGLIE) REVERSING ITS SUPPORT FOR POSTPONEMENT INTERVENED TO STATE THAT GOF WOULD HAVE PREFERRED A "CONSENSUS" BUT AS RESOLUTION ONLY "PROCEDURAL" THEY WOULD VOTE IN FAVOR.

6. ONLY OTHER NOTABLE ADDITION TO 23 V
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PAGE 04 STATE 253451

TES FOR
RESOLUTION WAS YUGOSLAVIA; PROBABLY MOTIVATED BY "NON-ALIGNED" SOLIDARITY WITH AFRICANS AND ESPECIALLY AT LIKELY INTERVENTION WITH GOY BY COMPATRIOT AND NEW UNESCO ADG NAJMAN. BOARD MEMBERS VOTING IN FAVOR, ACCORDING BEST TALLY BY PERMDELOFFS OF SHOW OF HANDS WAS: ARGENTINA, AUSTRIA, AUSTRALIA, BRAZIL, BELGIUM, COLOMBIA, FRANCE, FRG, GABON, GHANA, ITALY, KENYA, JAPAN, NEPAL, NORWAY, PHILIPPINES, TOGO, URUGUAY, UK, US, UPPER VOLTA, YUGOSLAVIA AND ZAIRE. AS REPORTED REFTEL, ABSTENTIONS WERE CUBA, SPAIN, UGANDA AND VOTES AGAINST WERE BULGARIA, GDR AND USSR.

7. PERMDEL WELL AWARE THAT HARD-LINE CRITICS OF UNESCO MAY BE QUICK TO POINT OUT THAT RESOLUTION DOES NOT ACHIEVE ANY FINAL ACION -- AS INDEED US STATEMENT BY PERMREP POINTED OUT -- AND THAT TEXT IN ITSELF IS LARGELY INNOCUOUS.

8. HOWEVER, SUCH QUICK DISMISSAL WOULD OVERLOOK THE SYMBOLIC AND EVEN TEXTUAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RESOLUTION THAT ARABS WERE QUICK TO GRASP AS DEMONSTRATED BY THEIR EFFORTS TO BLOCK IT. (SEE SEPTTEL REPORTING ARAB BOYCOTT

OF OCTOBER 9 MORNING BOARD SESSION RE NAIROBI CONFERENCE
IN RETALIATION FOR AFRICAN SUPPORT OF REGIONAL GROUP
RESOLUTION).

9. RESOLUTION IS IN EFFECT AN IMPLICIT ACT OF
PENITENCE BY MEMBER STATES OF A UN AGENCY MADE TO TRY
AND MEET PART OF THE WAY US DEMANDS. THIS IN ITSELF
IS, TO PUT IT MILDLY, AN UNCOMMON OCCURRENCE.

10. THE RESOLUTION PROVOKED A SHARP SPLIT BETWEEN
ARABS AND BLACK AFRICANS; A VOTING GROUP OTHERWISE
CONSIDERED TO ACT IN MONOLITHIC UNISON IN THE UN
SYSTEM.

11. UNESCO'S DG M'BOW ACTING IN CONCERT WITH BOARD
CHAIRMAN WYNTER AND THROUGH AFRICAN BOARD MEMBERS
PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN THE SUCCESS OF THE RESOLUTION.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 253451

AS DEPARTMENT AWARE, M'BOW PERSONALLY MET WITH SAUDI
ARABIAN BOARD MEMBER AND THE ALGERIAN PERMREP LAST WEEK
TO GET THEIR FOREBEARANCE, IF NOT SUPPORT, AND, UNTIL
LAST MINUTE REVERSAL AT ALGERIAN INSTIGATION, SEEMED
TO HAVE SECURED ARAB AGREEMENT. SENEGALESE PERMREP

TOLD DELOFF M'BOW ALSO INTERVENED THROUGH SENEGALESE
PRESIDENT SENGHOR PERSONALLY WITH ALGERIAN PRESIDENT
BOUMEDIENNE ON BEHALF OF THE RESOLUTION.

12. THE M'BOW-AFRICAN MANEUVERING, IT SHOULD NOT BE
FORGOTTEN, OCCURED DESPITE FACT THAT ONLY THE ARABS
HAVE RESPONDED SIGNIFICANTLY TO THE DG'S APPEAL FOR NON-
INTEREST LOANS TO OFFSET THE ABSENCE OF THE US CONTRI-
BUTION. ARAB PLEDGES ARE NOW ESTIMATED AT ABOUT \$20
MILLION FROM SAUDI ARABIA, LIBYA, ABU DHABI, IRAQ AND
KUWAIT, WITH ALGERIA HESITATING. OF COURSE, THESE
LOANS WOULDN'T HAVE BEEN REQUIRED HAD THE 18TH GENERAL
CONFERENCE DECISIONS RE ISRAEL BEEN TAKEN, BUT THERE
AGAIN M'BOW WORKED INTENSELY, IF UNSUCCESSFULLY, TO
MODIFY OR BLUNT MEASURES THAT THE ARABS AND, IN THE
INSTANCE OF THE EUROPEAN REGIONAL GROUP, THE FRENCH WERE
RESPONSIBLE FOR AND HAD LOBBIED FOR WELL BEFORE M'BOW
TOOK OFFICE AS DG.

13. IN TERMS OF TEXTUAL MEANING, IT SHOULD NOT BE
OVERLOOKED THAT THE RESOLUTION (PARAGRAPH FIVE) ESTAB-
LISHES THE PRINCIPLE THAT MEMBERSHIP OF A MEMBER STATE
IN A REGIONAL ACTIVITY GROUP WILL INCLUDE AS A "BASIS"
THE WISHES OF MEMBER STATES ALREADY IN THE RESPECTIVE
GROUPS. WITH ANY KIND OF ISRAELI EFFORT--AND AT LEAST
A PRO FORMA EFFORT WILL BE ESSENTIAL--THE ISRAELIS

SHOULD BE ACCEPTED IN THE EUROPEAN REGIONAL ACTIVITY GROUP IN NOVEMBER 1976. MOREOVER, EXBD RECOMMENDATIONS CARRY GREAT, VIRTUALLY DECISIVE, WEIGHT WITH GENERAL CONFERENCES.

14. HOWEVER, PERMDEL WOULD ALSO STRESS TO DEPARTMENT THAT THE PASSAGE OF THE RESOLUTION POINTED UP PREVIOUSLY EXISTING ADVERSE FACTORS AND CREATES A NEW SITUATION FOR THE UNITED STATES.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 253451

15. MOST OBVIOUSLY THIS RESOLUTION REPRESENTED THE LIMITES TO WHICH OTHER BOARD MEMBER STATES WOULD GO; AN EFFORT AS MUCH PROMPTED BY AFRICAN PRIDE IN M'BOW AND THEIR WISHES TO SAVE UNESCO FROM COLLAPSE, AS BY WEO WISHES TO RESTORE A FULL US ROLE IN UNESCO. NEITHER AFRICANS NOR WEO'S ARE LIKELY TO GO ANY FURTHER, WE WOULD EMPHASIZE, WITHOUT RECIPROCAL CONCRETE GESTURES BY THE US AND/OR ISRAEL. MOREOVER, THE REAL OBSTACLE--THE JERUSALEM EXCAVATIONS SANCTION RESOLUTION--CANNOT BE OVERCOME WITHOUT SOME MEANINGFUL TOKEN OR DEMONSTRATION OF ISRAELI GOOD WILL, IN ANY EVENT, THE FACTORS MOTIVATING ACTION ON THIS RESOLUTION WERE CONCERN FOR FINDING A WAY OUT OF THE UNESCO-US IMPASSE AND NOT RPT. NOT THE UNESCO-ISRAELI SANDOFF.

16. THE ISRAELIS IN UNESCO, AS ELSEWHERE IN THE UN SYSTEM, REMAIN AS ISOLATED AS EVER, HOW-
EVER, ONLY IN UNESCO IS THERE A DIRECTOR GENERAL WHO ENJOYS DIRECT PERSONAL ACCESS TO INFLUENTIAL AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE (NOTABLY BUT NOT EXCLUSIVELY SENEGAL, IVORY COAST, AND ZAIRE). ONLY IN UNESCO DO THE ISRAELIS HAVE (A) THE FACT OF AN OVERT AFRICAN-ARAB SPLIT ON AN ARAB-ISRAELI ISSUE AND (B) THE OPPORTUNITY TO FOLLOW-UP TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THEIR DIPLOMATIC INTERESTS. IT IS LARGELY UP TO THE ISRAELIS TO EXPLOIT THIS VERY EXCEPTIONAL OPPORTUNITY. AS POSSIBLE GESTURES THE ISRAELIS COULD PUBLICLY ANNOUNCE THE HALTING OF AT LEAST A PART OF EXCAVATIONS AND MAKE AN OPEN GESTURE OF RECONCILIATION TOWARDS UNESCO SUCH AS AN INVITATION FOR M'BOW TO COME TO ISRAEL TO BE RECEIVED AT THE TOP LEVEL AND AT LEAST DISCUSS THEIR PROBLEMS. THE ISRAELIS NEED NOT INDICATE THEY ARE ACQUIESCING TO 18 GC RESOLUTIONS, BUT THEY MUST SOFTEN THEIR HARD-LINE STANCE AND FOREGO CONTINUED PLAYING OF WHAT WEO'S AS WELL AS OTHER MEMBER STATES HERE DESCRIBE AS "THE MARTYR'S ROLE."

17. THE ISRAELIS SHOULD ALSO BE WELL AWARE THAT DESPITE UNDENIABLE SHORT-TERM BENEFITS THAT WERE YIELDED BY THEIR RESPONSE AT HOME AND ABROAD TO UNESCO 18 GC DECISIONS, AND HOWEVER UNDERSTANDABLE THIS REACTION WAS IN
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 253451

THE PERI

D IMMEDIATELY AFTER LAST NOVEMBER, THE GOI HAS LITTLE SUPPORT LEFT AMONG THE WEO'S WHO, ALONG WITH THE US, HAVE PROVIDED A CORE OF SOLID ISRAELI SUPPORT. THE UK, NORWAY, FRG, ITALY AND BELGIUM BACKED THE RE-

GIONAL GROUP RESOLUTION TO HELP THE UNITED STATES NOT RPT. NOT ISRAEL.

18. INDEED THE WEO'S HERE, AS WELL AS OTHERS, BACKED THIS MOVE IN SPITE OF THEIR UNWILLINGNESS TO TAKE RISKS FOR ISRAEL AGAINST ARAB INFLUENCE. IN THE UNESCO CONTEXT, WHATEVER MORAL SYMPATHY FOR ISRAEL MIGHT HAVE BEEN PRESENT IN THE VARIOUS WEO FOREIGN MINISTRIES HAS BEEN SHARPLY REDUCED BY THE EVIDENT ISRAELI UNWILLINGNESS TO HAVE THIS BOARD PRODUCE A CONCILIATORY RESOLUTION.

19. LOOKING AHEAD, WE ARE STILL A LONG WAY FROM HOME ON RESOLVING THIS PROBLEM. HAVING TAKEN A FIRST STEP, OTHER MEMBER STATES NOW LOOK TO THE US TO RESPOND. THE NON-PAYMENT OF EVEN A PART OF THE OUTSTANDING US CONTRIBUTIONS FOR 1974, 1975, AND SOON, 1976, WILL BE REGARDED AS STUDIED US INDIFFERENCE. M'BOW, AS DEPARTMENT AWARE, HAS SO FAR EFFECTIVELY PRECLUDED, AND THEREFORE SHIELDED THE US FROM, ANY SIGNIFICANT CRITICISM OF THE SUSPENSION OF OUR CONTRIBUTION. HOWEVER, IF BY THE BEGINNING OF 1976, OR THE NEXT SPRING EXBD, AT THE LATEST, THERE IS NO US MOVE TO RESPOND THERE WILL NOT ONLY BE HARSH CRITICISM OF THE US BUT A LOSS OF INFLUENCE. THIS WILL, OF COURSE, ADVERSELY EFFECT US LEVERAGE ON OTHER SENSITIVE ISSUES, SUCH AS SOUTH KOREAN CREDENTIALS CHALLENGE AT THE 19TH GENERAL CONF. AND US HITHERTO AUTOMATIC CONTINUATION ON KEY UNESCO INTERNATIONAL GOVERNING BODIES.
RUSH UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COMMITTEE MEETINGS, RESOLUTIONS, RELATIONS WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 OCT 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: greeneet
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE253451
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: IO/UNESCO:RCHEATER:JU
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750371-0300
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197510102/baaaacyf.tel
Line Count: 312
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: greeneet
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <16 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <17 SEP 2003 by greeneet>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PORG, OCON, US, IS, XA, XF, UNESCO
To: BONN
BRUSSELS
CANBERRA
LONDON
MADRID
OSLO

ROME

VIENNA

Type: TE

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006